

INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND CLAN

674 opportunity to another constable, a good many miles distant. The reason for his flight was simply that his wife belonged to his own village and to the clan of its constable, so that he feared a too summary punishment. Had this murder occurred before the country was brought under control, one might venture to say that the murderer would have had the actual support of his own clan against that of his wife if a violent retaliation had been attempted. As a rule, however, the Orokaiva is fond of his wife and indulgent to his children. Squabbles do not often occur; too frequent wife-beating is deprecated; and bad temper is regarded as bad conduct.

593 *The Position of Women.* The wife and mother is largely
562 occupied with matters of *ménage*, and takes little part in wider social activities. Completely overshadowed by the male she seems very well satisfied with her relative unimportance. A woman takes no initiative in matters which concern the clan as a whole, though, when a number of clans are together at a festival and feeling is perhaps strained, she is sometimes known to blow upon the coals. She has a weapon, the *poreba* or quarterstaff, and in former times would sometimes accompany cannibal raids, acting the part of armour-bearer or assisting in the commissariat.

593 In private life she is not aggressive, although I may quote
562 a rather striking exception in order to prove the rule. A
595 man named Siavije, having no children by his first wife, married a second, who was compelled, however, to reside in her own village nearby because of the jealousy of the senior wife. Under these circumstances Siavije hardly dared visit his second spouse, and was constantly involved in quarrels with his first. Being an inoffensive man and rather small, he was hardly a match for this large raw-boned woman who was known to worst him on more than one occasion and even to pursue him, crying for help, from end to end of the village.

585 Polygamy is relatively uncommon. In most of the instances which have come under my notice the wives manage to get on successfully enough with one another, though it is frequently said to be otherwise. I know of one man who 'threw away' his first wife because she could not live in

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amity with his second; of a second wife who, after a quarrel with the first, poisoned herself with *derris* or 'New Guinea Dynamite'; and of a husband, formerly a village constable, who was so upset by the wrangling of his two wives as to go away and hang himself. But these instances once more are exceptional, and the polygamous household may be said as a rule to be a peaceful one. Very commonly each wife occupies a separate house, and invariably she works a garden area of her own, so that mutual independence does much to prevent friction.

To sum up on the social position of woman we may say that she is nominally and often actually under the control of her husband, but that by virtue of his restraint on the one hand and her powers of personal expression on the other, the married couple usually get on very well together as a working unit. In public life, i.e. in the affairs of clan and village, the woman takes only a small part, but is well contented to have it so. She works longer hours than her husband, but her share of labour is not entirely disproportionate; indeed, the popular belief that women do all the work in a native village while their men-folk sprawl about in idleness is quite mistaken. A fairly systematic investigation in two Aiga villages¹ showed that of a total potential working time, men were idle 50 per cent. and women 33 per cent. On the whole it may be safely said that the position of Orokaiva women—indeed of native women in general—is not so slave-like and degraded as popular sentiment imagines.

The Control of Children. Children become members of the father's clan and naturally assume his clan emblem. They thus belong essentially to the father rather than to the mother. In cases of divorce, for example, it is normal for the child to remain in the custody of the father, unless it be an infant at the breast, when the matter may be waived, though compensation is due to the husband. The case of orphans is similar. Although there appears to be no formal adoption they are cared for in the normal case by the people of their father, being regarded indeed as their property.

¹ *Interim Report on Native Labour, 1927.*

726 though the alarm is happily less acute.) The attacking force having assembled by day usually travels by night, with the intention of surrounding the devoted village and surprising it at dawn. These tactics, however, are not invariable: the raiders are better satisfied with random victims, such as an isolated fishing party.

726 It was customary for women to accompany the expedition
562 carrying pots of food; and they might even stand by their husbands as armour-bearers. Sir William MacGregor, ascending the Kumusi in 1894, noted that 'The men carried generally a spear and a shield each, with a woman behind him bearing two or three spears. The women were able-bodied, and unaccompanied by children or small boys. Apparently they were simply armour-bearers.'¹ Again, on the same river in 1895 he met many armed natives, 'the warrior being frequently followed by a woman carrying part of his panoply, or ready to relieve him of his arms when he was induced to dispense with them'.² The women were always ready to urge on the fighting men and even to mingle in the fray, as W. E. Armit found when in conflict with the natives of Papangi. For then, when the warriors rushed to the attack among the long grass, cheered on by the shrill cries, 'Cheep! Cheep! Cheep!', of their women-folk, it was found when they were finally beaten off that two of the women lay dead with spears in their hands.³

712 Villages were often built on hill-tops (where there were
726 any hills) by way of defence, and many such sites are marked by clusters of coco-nut palms in the Tain-Daware district. In these easy-going times they have been abandoned for more accessible positions. Tree-houses (*savai*) were built as refuges in emergency, and, as they contained an armoury of spears and (it is said) a supply of food, water, and firewood, they enabled the refugees to hold out until help came from their neighbours. In their tree-houses the natives were for the time being secure enough, for an enemy armed with nothing more than the spear could not safely venture within striking distance. An interesting incident of the early days

¹ *Annual Report*, 1893-4, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, 1895-6, p. xvii.

³ *Ibid.*, 1899-1900, p. 91.

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grief, and its last moments were no doubt rendered fewer and more uncomfortable by the attentions of its relatives. 763

When the victim of this solicitude is finally dead, he is stretched out on his back. His face is painted and his head decorated with ornaments and a feather head-dress. Some of these will be buried with him; but his children will remove and keep the more valuable. The corpse of a man is entirely naked; that of a woman wears a *bo*. 764

If the deceased be a man of any importance, his body is laid out on a sloping platform (*babari*) in the village. It is made of logs set at an angle of about 20 degrees, and the corpse is laid upon it feet downwards and with arms outstretched. This *babari* is said to be meant for the convenience of the mourners who wish to embrace the corpse. [47]

The posthumous honour of a *babari* is denied to a woman for a curious reason which I have heard several times repeated. Women are too fond of *bivije* or adulterous intercourse, and are therefore undeserving of the dignity of an elevated position. They are laid on a mat on the ground, and the only real regret for them is said to be on the part of those who have enjoyed their favours. And since these latter are ashamed to weep for fear of betraying themselves, the woman goes unwept and unhonoured to her grave. This explanation, needless to say, was derived from male informants, and, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief at a woman's death are hardly less extravagant than at a man's. 764 562

The mourners flock in from all villages in the neighbourhood, pausing on the way to smear themselves with mud, *pusu* (from which they get the name of *pusu-embo* or 'muddy men'). They desert their gardens or whatever work they have in hand at the sound of the *bui*, which repeatedly gives a very long-drawn note as a signal of death. Their attendance is not entirely obligatory, but it is regarded as a matter of decency to attend the funeral of a neighbour: and the relatives of the deceased will be offended if there is not a large muster. It is to be suspected, moreover, that the mourners derive some satisfaction from the very exuberant way they have of showing their grief, and, in the case of the 764 [202] [576] 764 152

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By MARIE REAY

Introduction

101 "Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related
114 dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva
123 society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams,
131 Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr.
Williams' published work,¹ supplemented by observations recorded by the author
during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of
Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,²
whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele
and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but never-
theless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida
people.

121 In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be
examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control.
Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the
Orokaiva use the convenient term *olohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary
to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva
childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view.
Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with
Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this
system.

(1) OROKAIVA IDEALS

183 The Orokaiva term *olohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally
577 expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses:
adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain
definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number
562 of people. A man is *olohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening
and hunting³; also, the *olohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor
196 [196] does he commit adultery. A woman is *olohu* if she listens to her husband and does
361 not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

¹ F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

² Called the Jegase-Sarahu tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual Report for 1914-15*, pp. 158 ff.).

³ I.e., if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and if he works his garden regularly.

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he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely un verbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,⁴ so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) EDUCATION IN CONFORMITY

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

⁴ Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.